

SPEECH OF HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE, OF WISCONSIN.

Delivered in the United States Senate, February 11, 1859.

Mr. President, the question of the acquisition of Cuba and its annexation to the United States of America is no new question to me. If there is one question of national policy in this country which may be said to be settled and fixed, it is our policy in relation to the island of Cuba. That policy may be said to rest upon three foundations: First, that under no circumstances will the Government of the United States consent that the island of Cuba shall ever be transferred by Spain to any other European Power; second, that so long as it remains, in fact as well as in name, a dependency of the Spanish Crown, the Government of the United States will never undertake, by force of arms, to wrest it from her possession; and the third point in that policy is, that whenever the United States can, by fair and honorable negotiation with the Government of Spain, and with the consent of the population of the island of Cuba, acquire its possession, we are ready to accept it.

I furthermore am frank to say that I fully believe that in the fullness of time and in the development of the great national policy which is to control this continent, the island of Cuba is one day to be incorporated within the sovereignty and the jurisdiction of the United States of America. I believe also, Mr. President, that that time has not yet come. I shall not take up the time of the Senate at this hour by narrating what has been done by the Government on this subject for the last thirty or forty years. I will refer to it, however, and read two or three brief extracts only.

During the Administration of Mr. Adams, when Mr. Clay was Secretary of State, in his letter to Mr. Alexander H. Everett, then our minister at Madrid, he uses this emphatic language, showing at that day the policy of the Government of the United States in relation to the island of Cuba:

"The United States are satisfied with the present condition of those islands [Cuba and Porto Rico] in the hands of Spain, and with their ports open to our commerce, as they are now open. This Government desires no political change of that condition. The population itself of the islands is incompetent at present, from its composition and its amount, to maintain self-government."

During the Administration of General Jackson, Mr. Van Buren, as Secretary of State, communicated the same view to the Government of Spain; and during the Administration of Mr. Polk, as late as 1848, when the present Executive Magistrate was himself Secretary of State, in his letter as such, to Mr. Sanders, then in Spain, he said:

"You might assure him that, whilst this Government is entirely satisfied that Cuba shall remain under the dominion of Spain, we should, in any event, resist its acquisition by any other nation. And, finally, you might inform him that, under all these circumstances, the President had arrived at the conclusion that Spain might be willing to transfer the island to the United States for a full and fair consideration."

And again: Mr. Everett, during the Administration of Mr. Fillmore, in 1852, in his note to the Comte de Sartiges, speaking of this subject, says:

"A respectful sympathy with the fortunes of an ancient ally and a gallant people, with whom the United States have ever maintained the most friendly relations, would, if no other reason existed, make it our duty to leave her in the undisturbed possession of this little remnant of her mighty transatlantic empire. The President desires to do so. No word or deed of his will ever question her title or shake her possession. But can it be expected to last very long? Can it resist this mighty current in the fortunes of the world?"

During the very last Administration which preceded the present, Mr. Marcy, in his letter to Mr. Soulé, of the 23d of July, 1853, says:

"While Spain remains, in fact as well as in name, the sovereign of Cuba, she can depend upon our maintaining our duty as a neutral nation towards her, however difficult it may be. In this respect, the future will be as the past has been."

Again, he says:

"Our Minister at Madrid, during the Administration of President Polk, was instructed to ascertain if Spain was disposed to transfer Cuba to the United States for a liberal pecuniary consideration. I do not understand, however, that it was at that time the policy of

' this Government to acquire that island, unless
' its inhabitants were very generally disposed
' to concur in the transfer."

And again he says, in the same dispatch, and the remark gives evidence of the practical wisdom which distinguished that statesman:

"In the present aspect of the case, the President does not deem it proper to authorize you to make any proposition for the purchase of that island. There is now no hope, as he believes, that such a proposition would be favorably received, and the offer of it might, and probably would, be attended with injurious effects."

In his letter of November 13, 1854, to Mr. Soulé, in reply to the celebrated Ostend circular, in which Mr. Marcy, as Secretary of State, on behalf of the Government of the United States, repudiated the dishonorable alternative of cession or seizure which seemed to be presented to Spain in that circular, he said:

"But should you have reason to believe that the men in power are adverse to entertaining such a proposition, [namely, cession]—that the offer of it would be offensive to the national pride of Spain, and that it would find no favor in any considerable class of the people, then it will be but too evident that the time for opening, or attempting to open, such a negotiation has not arrived. It appears to the President, that nothing could be gained, and something might be lost, by an attempt to push on a negotiation against such a general resistance."

These letters of the Secretaries of State of the United States show clearly what the policy of this Government is in relation to the acquisition of the island of Cuba. That policy is based, as I have stated, upon three foundations, the first of which is, that we will never consent, cost what it may, to the transfer of that island by Spain to any other European Power. Such a transfer would be resisted by the unanimous voice of the American people, and especially by the Republican party, as against its policy, and against all our history. We would resist the transfer to England or to France, if need be, resist it to the very death, cost what it might of treasure or of blood. But let me tell you that the grounds on which we would resist it would not be the grounds stated by the honorable Senator from Georgia [Mr. Toombs] the other day, in his speech on this subject. The honorable Senator from Georgia declared that it was the policy of the United States to obtain the island of Cuba for the purpose of making the Gulf of Mexico a *mare clausum*—a closed sea; that it was our purpose to obtain not only Cuba, but all the islands of the Gulf of Mexico and of the Caribbean sea; and he declared, in the rapture of his prophetic vision, that if he did not live to see it, the youngest of those now living would see the day when no flag would be permitted to float on those seas but by our permission.

Mr. President, I was surprised to hear such language as that fall from any Senator upon the floor of the American Senate. A *mare clausum* to be made in the high seas by the Government of the United States! Our whole policy has been against it from the beginning. We have fought against the doctrine of a *mare clausum*. We have gained our greatest glory on the high seas in fighting against it. It was for the freedom of the seas that we waged war in 1812. It was for the freedom of the seas that we opened up the Mediterranean. It was for the freedom of the seas that we put down the Algerine pirates, that were levying contributions upon the commerce of the world. It was to maintain the freedom of the seas, and to put down this doctrine of a *mare clausum*, that we opposed the Danish Sound dues. Short as has been my term on the floor of the Senate, I have already been called upon to take part in the formation of a treaty, by which Denmark, upon our demand, and to carry out our policy, has been compelled to surrender this idea of a *mare clausum* upon the high seas.

No, Mr. President, it would be for the purpose of preventing the Gulf of Mexico from ever being made a *mare clausum* by England, or by France, or any other great naval Power, that we would resist this transfer, and resist it to the very death. It would be to maintain the freedom of the seas, to keep those seas open to the commerce of the world, and at the same time to keep them open to our own commerce, that we would resist its transfer. What may be the motto of the party upon the other side of the Chamber, of which the distinguished Senator from Georgia is a leading chief, I know not; but the motto of the Republican party to-day is, as it was in the war of 1812, and as it ever will be, "the freedom of the seas, the free commerce of the seas, the highways of the world shall not be closed to the commerce of the world." We admit no such doctrine as he contends for, and will never subscribe to it.

I have stated that it has been the settled policy of this Government, when the Government of Spain would consent to the transfer of the United States, and the people of the island of Cuba would also consent to the transfer of their jurisdiction to the United States, that we would be willing to accept it, under proper conditions. This last consideration, in relation to the wishes of the population of that island, is a matter of so great importance, that in perfecting this bill, before any vote shall be taken upon it, I have desired to offer an amendment; and I will now offer it as an amendment to the amendment of the Senator from Ohio, which I now send to the Chair, in these words:

"And provided, That in any treaty which may be entered into between the Government of the United States and the Government of Spain, there shall be inserted an express provision that said treaty shall be wholly inoperative until the same shall be submitted to, and

'ratified by, the majority of the free white male inhabitants, of twenty-one years of age and upwards, of the island of Cuba, at an election to be held for the purpose, pursuant to lawful authority.'

Another point which I have mentioned in our national policy is this: that we will never undertake by force of arms to wrest the island of Cuba from the Spanish Government against her will. Our national faith, our national honor, is plighted to that effect. It has been plighted over and over again and again. The proposition of the alternative held out to Spain of either cession or seizure, never found light until the celebrated Ostend circular, which appeared in 1854, and which was repudiated by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Marcy. I say that, in carrying out this part of our policy in relation to Cuba, we are bound to do so to the very letter by every consideration worthy of our true national character. Our duty to God demands it, and our duty to man demands it also. Standing as we do to-day, in the very vanguard of human civilization, we are bound to keep sacred our national faith; never under any temptation to violate it, by becoming ourselves the wrong-doer and aggressor. I know that gentlemen may quote, for our example, the histories of other nations of the world—of Greece, of Rome, of England, of France, of Russia. You may tell us that their career is one continued career of conquest, extending all over the globe; but their examples are not for us to follow in this respect. The difference between them and us is fundamental. While their foundations rest upon conquest, the very foundation upon which our Government rests, upon which it is based, and by which it is to be controlled and guided in all its policy, is that of honesty, justice, uprightness, and good faith. We have as yet never entered upon a war of conquest. I trust in God we shall never enter upon such a war. It would but open the way to the creation of an immense national debt, and the raising of immense navies and immense standing armies, the result of which would come back upon ourselves, in the creation of one grand consolidated empire, like the empire of Rome. Much as we should desire the acquisition of Cuba, much as we should desire to add to our possessions all the British provinces of North America, the outlet of the St. Lawrence, the Canadas, New Brunswick, the Northwest possessions, the island of Vancouver—all those vast territories which lie upon our Northern frontier, and compared with which Cuba, important as it is, is hardly to be mentioned; yet I trust the day will never come when the doctrine will find favor in the American Senate, or before the American people, that we shall enter upon a career of conquest, and seize those territories, because we have the power to do it. Sir, let us bide our time; let us wait until, in the course of human events, these great possessions can be made. These great annexa-

tions may take place to our Government and our dominion, not by conquest, not by rapine or by robbery, but they may take place peacefully, by honorable negotiations, honorable annexation. Least of all is it any part of our policy to conquer an unwilling people; to conquer territories which are already thickly-settled; to conquer an island, like the island of Cuba, which has upon it already more than a million inhabitants; which is as thickly settled as many of the States of the Union, and more populous than the great majority of the States of this Union. It is no part of our policy to conquer and bring under our jurisdiction, against their will, a mixed people, three-fourths of whom are not of our race; nine-tenths of whom know nothing of our language, our laws, our customs, our religion; nine-tenths of whom never knew anything about republican institutions or republican government. It is no part of our American policy to enter upon any such career of conquest as that.

Again, sir: if there be anything established in our policy, it is this, as another point, that we will never, under any circumstances, make the offer to purchase the island of Cuba from Spain, at a time and in such a manner as to offend her national pride. But how does this proposition come forward? At what time is it introduced into the Senate, by the Committee on Foreign Relations? The very morning of the day when the Senator from Louisiana, [Mr. SLIDELL,] from the Committee on Foreign Relations, introduced this bill to the Senate, we received information of the action of the Government of Spain. This very proposition was contained, in substance, in the message of the President of the United States. It was considered in both branches of the Spanish Cortes. In the Chamber of Deputies it was unanimously rejected; in the Senate, also, it was unanimously rejected; and it was declared by those who spoke upon that question, all parties concurring, and without a dissenting voice, that at this time, and under these circumstances, the attempt to reopen this negotiation would be regarded by the Government of Spain as an insult. The Cortes passed this resolution:

"The Cortes declares that it has received 'with satisfaction the declaration of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and that it is disposed 'to give to the Government its constant support, in order to maintain the integrity of the 'Spanish dominions.'

Again, on the 4th of January, the Minister of Foreign Affairs repeated these declarations in form, relating to the island of Cuba. He declared that—

"If a representative of a foreign Power came 'to make me an offer for the alienation of Cuba, 'I should at once interrupt him in his first phrase, as soon as his first words caused me 'to guess his purpose or notion, and I would 'tell him the effect produced by such intimations on all Spanish minds. The retention of

' the island of Cuba is not for us a question of interest or convenience—it is a question of dignity and honor. No advantage which might accrue from it, no money or price that could be heaped up before us, would be sufficient to determine Spain to sacrifice that glorious relic of the precious discoveries and magnificent conquests of our forefathers. The alienation of Cuba! Why, that is a wild, preposterous idea, which could not present itself to any other than persons who do not know Spain—who had never fathomed her deepest feelings."

Mr. President, I confess that it was with very great surprise that I listened to the report of the honorable Senator from Louisiana, from the Committee on Foreign Relations. When this information was received direct from the Government of Spain, showing that the Crown, the Ministry, every member of both branches of the Cortes, had rejected it, I was still more surprised that it should have been pressed on the consideration of the American Congress. I do not profess to be a diplomatist; but I consider this mode of reaching Spain, for the purpose of inducing her to enter into a negotiation to cede to us the island of Cuba, is, to say the least of it, a most egregious blunder.

If Spain should voluntarily cede the island of Cuba to the Government of the United States, it would be right for us to accept it; and, if we determined to accept it, neither England nor France, nor the world in arms, would deter me for one moment in the course which I should pursue. But, so long as Spain is in the rightful possession of the island of Cuba, and refuses to cede it to us voluntarily by honorable negotiation, it would be grossly wrong for us to undertake to wrest it from her by force. Then, she being in the right, and we being in the wrong, if Spain shall be allied with England and with France in the struggle which must follow, I hold that it is no part of weakness, or of cowardice either, for us to calculate the momentous consequences.

Let us cherish sacredly the maxim, "to ask nothing which is not clearly right, and submit to nothing wrong." If, however, we are to enter upon a system of aggression ourselves, and undertake, by force of arms, to wrest from Spain her rightful possessions, it is not only the part of manliness and true courage for us to consider that, in that struggle, England and France may be allied with her against us, but there will be this higher consideration, that, in such a struggle, there will be no attribute of the Almighty to take part with us. Give us the right, give us the cession by peaceful purchase, and then if either England or France interfere to prevent our accepting or enjoying it, as I have already said, I would resist them, one, or both together. The world in arms should not deter us from the assertion of the right. But it is a very different question when we are to be placed in the wrong, when we are

to depart from the whole policy of the old Republican party, when we ourselves are to become the aggressors, when we are to enter upon the career of rapine, blood, and conquest, which, I admit, has marked the progress of all the other great nations of the world.

Mr. President, it is said upon this floor, it is said elsewhere, that there is a resistless logic in events; a current in the fortunes of the world, a manifest destiny; "a tide in the affairs of men;" that "there is a divinity that shapes our ends." All these expressions we hear. I have heard expressions still more simple, addressed to me in the language and in the faith of childhood, that there is a God in heaven, without whose notice not a sparrow falls; and that His Providence is watching over the destinies of this country, and has been from its earliest colonization down to the present hour. I can accede to all this; but with me the important question still remains, which way does the current flow; which way does this gravitation, in the political world, tend; which way does the Providence of God direct? That is the question.

For one, I desire to look back upon the history of the past, to judge of what is to come in the future. For more than two thousand years, I may say, there have been great currents of emigration in the human race; onward and onward, from the Asiatic east, through Europe, covering the whole of the temperate zone of Europe, until, in the fullness of time, that same flow of emigration has crossed the Atlantic, and is taking possession of the temperate zone of this continent. Its flow is onward, and right onward, increasing in volume and in strength. They are coming from all the countries of Europe, mingling with those who are already here; becoming Americanized, and by their knowledge and perseverance and indomitable courage, they are taking possession and are yet to take possession, of every foot of this continent, where the white man can live and labor. Before that resistless flow, the other races upon this continent are receding; and they will continue to recede. It is but a question of arithmetic and of time. By no revolution, by no invasion of the rights of any individual, by no usurpation of any Federal authority over the rights of the several States, but the simple laws of emigration, or what may be denominated "by political gravitation," this emigration is going on, swelling in volume and increasing in power.

The honorable Senator from Ohio [Mr. PUGH] was pleased to say yesterday that the proposition which I had introduced, and the doctrines which I had avowed on this floor, were as follows; I read from his reported speech:

"The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. DOOLITTLE] announced to us yesterday, as the programme of the modern and self-styled Republican party, that the tropical zone of this continent should be for the negro, and only i

temperate zone for the white man. I am really obliged to the Senator for so honest a proclamation, having always been convinced that the party of his attachment, upon which he has lavished as many affectionate caresses and epithets as Sancho Panza could have suggested, intends that Cuba, and Mexico, and Central America, and, if possible, our own Southern States, shall be reduced to the miserable condition of Hayti and Jamaica."

Neither the proposition which I introduced nor the language which I used on this floor authorized the honorable Senator from Ohio to make any such statement. I have never said upon this floor that no one but the negro is to inhabit the tropical regions of this continent. I have said no such thing. I have not said that the white man may not find a home in the tropics, if he pleases to do so. I have never said, I have never intimated, I have never desired, that the time would come when our own Southern States, or any one of them, ought to be, or would be, reduced to the condition of Jamaica or St. Domingo. The proposition which I had the honor to submit is no new one. I claim for it no originality whatever. It is as old as the Republican party in this country. It was a leading idea with Jefferson, with Madison, with Monroe, with Washington, with all the great statesmen of this country in the earlier days of the Republic. I claim for it no originality. I claim, however, that this proposition tends to prevent, and it is the only measure which will in the end prevent, the disastrous consequences to which the honorable Senator refers.

My proposition is simply to provide for the peaceful emigration, from all the States of this Union, of all those free colored persons, of African descent, who may desire so to emigrate, to some place in Central or South America, in some of the States of the tropical regions, in which rights may be acquired by treaty, by the United States, for that purpose, and for their benefit. It is simply that these persons may go and mingle with the population already existing in those States, (and five-sixths of them already are of the colored race,) where color is no degradation, where they may mingle together freely without repugnance.

I have said that this was no idea of mine. To show this, I desire to read two or three extracts from some of our most distinguished statesmen. I do not refer to the statesmen of the North, but to the statesmen of the South. Mr. Jefferson said, in speaking upon this identical measure:

"It was, however, found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it even at this day; yet the day is not far distant when it must bear it and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people (the negroes) are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same Government. Nature, habit, opin-

ion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of EMANCIPATION AND DEPORTATION, and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be *pari passu* filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors."

These memorable words were uttered more than a quarter of a century ago. The time that he prophesied would come, has already arrived, when the public mind would not only bear but approve the proposition.

Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, maintained the same idea again. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter addressed to Mr. Sparks, said, speaking on this very plan:

"The second object, and the most interesting to us, as coming home to our physical and moral characters, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum to which we can, by degrees, send the whole of that population from among us, and establish them under our patronage and protection, as a separate, free and independent people, in some country and climate friendly to human life and happiness."

Again, Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Mr. Coles, thus warns his countrymen of the South, that, unless some such proposition as this is adopted, the very scenes of St. Domingo, which the honorable Senator from Ohio [Mr. PUGH] so much dreads, would be forced upon them:

"Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. *It will come*; and, whether brought on by the generous energies of our own minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, excited and conducted by the power of our present enemy, if once stationed permanently within our country, and offering asylum and arms to the *oppressed*, is a leaf of our history not yet turned over."

As I have stated, this is no proposition of mine. It was advanced by the leading statesmen of this country, as the only possible mode by which we could rid ourselves of this great difficulty, without going through the bloody scenes of St. Domingo in the Southern slave States; and when the honorable Senator from Ohio says that I desire, or that the party with which I act desire, that the scenes of St. Domingo shall be re-enacted in the Gulf States of this Union, and that we desire to reduce those States to the condition of Hayti and Jamaica, he does us great injustice. It is to avert just that calamity, and to prevent that very result, that I to-day advocate this proposition; for I believe the time has ripened for the execution of the plan originated by Jefferson in his day, agreed in by Madison and Monroe and all the earlier and better statesmen of the Republic, both North and South.

What shall we do? That is the question.

I ask honorable Senators who doubt the propriety of this proposition which I have introduced, what will you do? You know that it is a fact, that very many of the non-slaveholding States of this Union, by their laws, and even by their Constitutions, refuse to allow the emancipated colored man to find a shelter within their jurisdiction—a measure of harshness in which I cannot sympathize, while, at the same time, almost all the slaveholding States have made stringent enactments to prevent their emancipation, unless they shall be, at the same time, removed beyond their jurisdiction; and in some of the Southern States, the proposition is to-day being entertained, and it is beginning to find more and more favor, to reduce to servitude those who are now free. The proposition has been made in North Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia. It has lately been made in the State of Missouri, coupled with a proposition to confiscate their property. Very probably it is entertained in other slaveholding States.

I ask, in Heaven's name, what are you to do with these people? In the late Constitution which was framed in Kansas, and which the Administration was so anxious to press through Congress, it was declared that free negroes should not be permitted to live in Kansas. The Constitution of the State of Oregon declares the same thing, that they shall not only not reside in Oregon, but that they shall not be permitted to have any rights whatever, nor any standing in court. The slaveholding States are making these enactments. What is to be done with them? That is the question. It is not a question that confines itself peculiarly to the slave States. It is a question that concerns the free States as well as the slave States. It is no sectional question. It is a national question, in which all have a common and equal interest.

I ask, and repeat, in God's name, what will you do with them? I ask you, gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber, what will you do with the free negroes that are now inhabiting the States of this Union? Will you put them to the sword? Humanity would shrink from that. Will you bring them to the auction block? That is the question. It is seriously proposed in several States of this Union, though I trust that no such enactment will ever be carried into effect in any State. But, Mr. President, sure as fate, in the language of Mr. Jefferson, sure as mathematics—for facts and figures do not lie on this subject—you have got to meet this question; you cannot postpone it any longer, if you try; the day is coming on; it is already pressing upon you. What will you do with them? You must meet it. The census returns of the United States tell you the story. With each revolving decade it is fixing it as sure as fate, and you must come to it.

I refer, of course, with no disrespect whatever to any of the States of this Union; but I refer to the census simply for the purpose of stating

facts as they appear. If you look at the State of South Carolina, you will find that, in 1810, there were 214,000 white people to 196,000 slaves; in 1820, 237,000 whites, 258,000 slaves; in 1830, 257,000 whites, 315,000 slaves; in 1840, 299,000 whites, 327,000 slaves; in 1850, 274,000 whites, 384,000 slaves. What do these figures show? Where does it tend? Where do these mighty resistless currents in human affairs constantly flow? They flow to but one result; and men may try to avoid the question as long as they please, but the time is coming, and is pressing on, when the enormous preponderance of the slave population, in some of the States of this Union, will be so great that they must be removed from those States, or they will be Africanized—the very result of which you speak. You charge upon me a desire to make a Hayti of South Carolina or Louisiana. No, sir; never. I would open the outlet, and the only outlet, by which you can escape it, and to which you must come, as sure as fate, unless you do. You are not so much wiser than Jefferson or Washington, Madison or Monroe. They foresaw it in their day. It has been approaching ever since. It is gathering strength and volume; and come it will.

What will you do with them? You are holding the wolf by the ears. You cannot hold on to him, and you dare not let go. He is gathering strength every day and every hour, while you are growing weaker. What will you do with him? That is the question. You cannot blink it out of sight. I tell you, Mr. President, it is a question above all other questions of our day. In considering the well-being of the American nation, we must meet it. You must make an outlet for these people, or you must be Africanized in those States where they are increasing in such a ratio, compared with the increase of the whites. This may be speaking plainly, but I have no concealments on any subject. I speak openly, freely; I make a clean breast of it. If you look at the census of Alabama, it tells the same story. So of Georgia and Louisiana, though not to so great a degree in the State of Louisiana, for the reason that there is a large city in that State, and the increase of black population in proportion to the increase of the whites has not been so marked.

The serious question now arises, as this population must, in the course of human events, flow towards the tropics, and into the tropics, just as certain as the revolutions of the earth, just as certain as that water finds its level—shall the Government of the United States seize upon the tropical regions of this continent, and plant them there as slaves, or shall we suffer them to go, who are now or may be hereafter emancipated, from within our present jurisdiction, to take up their abode among the free people of their own color who are already within the tropics?

Mr. President, this subject is one to which I have given no little thought during my brief ex-

perience in political life. I took part in the great contest which brought Texas into the Union. I went for the annexation of Texas. I did so in the most perfect good faith. I did so because I believed that Texas was an independent State; its independence had been acknowledged by Great Britain and by France; because its people went out from among us, and were of us, and desired with one voice to be reannexed to the Union. I went for the annexation of Texas also for another reason. That reason I now feel called upon to state. It was a reason which was proclaimed through the whole length and breadth of the land. Every man in Congress who spoke on that subject mentioned it. Every man from the North or the South who spoke of the annexation of Texas, and in its relations to the existence of Slavery in this country, advocated the same idea or kept silence. I refer to the reason advanced by Mr. Walker in his celebrated letter in favor of the annexation of Texas. I refer to the speech of the present Chief Executive Magistrate, Mr. Buchanan. I refer to the speech of General Ashley, of Arkansas, Mr. Tibbatts, of Kentucky, and I will not say hundreds of others, but many other persons upon the same subject in the Congress of the United States. What ground did they put forward? Upon what ground was the annexation of Texas accepted by the American people? It was upon the express understanding, which was just as much a part of the compromise between the people of the North and the South, on the subject of the annexation of Texas, as if it had been drawn out and sealed and signed and delivered. What was it? I beg to read a very few words from the declarations of these eminent men. They speak for themselves. And, first, I will read from the letter of Mr. Walker, who subsequently became the Secretary of the Treasury under the Administration which came into power. Mr. Walker said:

"Nor can it be disguised, that by the reannexation, as the number of free blacks augmented in the slaveholding States, they would be diffused gradually through Texas, into Mexico, and Central and Southern America, where nine-tenths of their present population are already of the colored races, and where, from their vast preponderance in number, they are not a degraded caste, but upon a footing, not merely of legal, but, what is far more important, of actual equality with the rest of the population. Here, then, if Texas is annexed, throughout the vast region and salubrious and delicious climate of Mexico, and of Central and Southern America, a large and rapidly-increasing portion of the African race will disappear from the limits of the Union. The process will be gradual and progressive, without a shock, and without a convulsion."

Further, he said:

"Again, then, the question is asked, is Slavery never to disappear from the Union? This is a startling and momentous question, but the

answer is easy and the proof is clear; it will certainly disappear, if Texas is reannexed to the Union."

Now, I beg to call the especial attention of the Senator from Ohio, [Mr. PUGH,] and the Senator from Louisiana, [Mr. BENJAMIN,] to these words of Mr. Walker:

"Thus, that same overruling Providence that watched over the landing of the emigrants and Pilgrims at Jamestown and at Plymouth, that gave us the victory in our struggle for independence, that guided by his inspiration the framers of our wonderful Constitution, that has thus far preserved this great Union from dangers so many and imminent, and is now shielding it from Abolition, its most dangerous and internal foe, will open Texas as a safety-valve, into and through which Slavery will slowly and gradually recede, and finally disappear in the boundless regions of Mexico, and Central and Southern America."

"Beyond the Del Norte, Slavery will not pass, not only because it is forbidden by law, but because the colored races there preponderate in the ratio of ten to one over the whites; and holding, as they do, the Government, and most of the offices, in their own possession, they will never permit the enslavement of any portion of the colored race, which makes and executes the laws of the country."

This was the language of Mr. Walker, addressed to the people of the United States, and scattered broadcast over the whole land, thick as the falling leaves of the forest, or the snow flakes in winter. It went to every dwelling, it reached every man. The argument here was in every man's mouth. It went home to the hearts of the great American people. I accepted it for myself, I acted upon its reasonings. I believed in its truth; I believe it now, that the Providence of Almighty God is leading this thing in that very direction; that this resistless current in human affairs is flowing onward to the tropics with this race; resist it you cannot, to defeat it is impossible. For one, I would not undertake to resist it. I would aid it onward and onward in its peaceful flow.

The honorable Senator from Ohio, yesterday, was pleased to say to me, that the proposition which I had introduced could not be carried out, and that even Commodore Paulding could not aid me in carrying it into effect. Let me call the attention of that honorable Senator to a few facts. Slavery once existed all over the Central American States. It existed under the Government of Spain, when in the zenith of its power and glory. Slavery has had its day in the tropics. There the colored race, by the force of climate, and the laws which God the Almighty has stamped upon the earth, and upon his constitution, has enfranchised himself. The white race became so enfeebled in the tropics, by the operation of the same laws, that they could no longer hold the wolf they had taken by the ears. It became too strong for them; it

resisted, and it obtained its freedom. Freedom has been won in the Central American States. It exists there to-day. You cannot overturn it, if you would. It is not in your power to do it.

When General Walker, of whom we have heard so much, was invited by the Government of Nicaragua to come and take charge of its affairs, he was asked to come there not to establish Slavery, but because he was known to be a Free-State man. He had labored in California to make that a free State, and to resist the introduction of Slavery there. Walker, as was well known and understood by all his friends, was opposed to the institution of Slavery. He went to Nicaragua. He was placed, by the almost unanimous voice of its people, at the head of its affairs. He ruled them at his pleasure; but, in an evil hour, under the dictation of fanaticism—for it is nothing but fanaticism that would undertake to re-establish Slavery within the American tropics at this late day—at the suggestion of emissaries from this country, in an evil hour, he revoked the decree abolishing Slavery in Nicaragua; and what was the consequence? He lost in an hour his hold upon that people. They rose *en masse* against him. They surrounded him on every hand; they starved him out; they reduced him to a poor, miserable remnant on the Lake of Nicaragua; and from whence the Government of the United States sent a vessel to rescue him, as was said by the Secretary of the Navy, as an act of humanity to rescue him and his followers from an outraged people.

Again he made the attempt to plant Slavery in Nicaragua by force of arms. His design was thwarted by the gallant Commodore Paulding, in the faithful execution of the orders of the Government; and in doing which he did accomplish that which the gentleman from Ohio thinks him incapable of aiding.

The attempt was renewed; and as that veteran officer had been recalled for the too faithful execution of his duty, the vessel which carried the expedition was suffered to escape from our shores, but was wrecked on the island of Roatan; and the men composing the expedition were returned to this country as objects of charity by the Governor of that free-negro colony.

I ask the Senator from Ohio if he cannot see the hand of Providence in this transaction?

Mr. PUGH. I should like to make a suggestion to the Senator. Do I understand him to state, as a fact, that African Slavery existed in Central America and Mexico?

Mr. DOOLITTLE. I did not say that African Slavery was general all over the States of Mexico and Central America; but I am informed that, in Honduras, in a population of less than five hundred thousand, there is one hundred and forty thousand negroes, and that Slavery existed in all those States, principally

Slavery of the Indian races. Negroes were also introduced into all, though not to the same extent that they were in the West Indies.

Mr. PUGH. There are scarcely any negroes there. I recollect I travelled over a great part of Mexico, and never saw but one negro in the whole country, and he was a runaway from the State of Louisiana.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. I wish now, Mr. President, to read a very few sentences more, and I shall relieve the patience of the Senate. Mr. Norris of New Hampshire, Mr. Dickinson of New York, Mr. Dean of Ohio, General Ashley of Arkansas, Mr. Tibbatts of Kentucky, and very many other gentlemen, both from the North and the South, took this same view; but I will call especial attention to the language of the present Chief Magistrate, Mr. Buchanan, then a Senator on this floor. He said:

"After mature reflection, I now believe that 'the acquisition of Texas will be the means of 'limiting, not enlarging, the dominion of Slavery. In the government of the world, Providence generally produces great changes by 'gradual means. There is nothing rash in the 'councils of the Almighty. May not, then, the 'acquisition of Texas be the means of drawing 'the slaves far to the South, to a climate more 'congenial to their nature; and may they not 'finally pass off into Mexico, and there mingle 'with a race where no prejudice exists against 'their color?' * * *

"Texas will open an outlet, and Slavery itself 'may thus finally pass the Del Norte, and be 'lost in Mexico."

Mr. President, I shall not take up the time of the Senate now, by speaking on the various compromises which, from time to time, have been made in good faith between the North and the South. I shall not speak of the compromise of 1820, nor of its violation in 1854. I call especial attention to this understanding, by whatever name it may be denominated. It was the general conviction of the American people. The very ground on which you asked to annex Texas to the Union, was this most solemn assertion to the people of this country, that there should never be any attempt to carry Slavery beyond the Rio Grande; but that all free colored persons of African descent in the States of this Union, who should desire to do so, should have the privilege of migrating into those regions; and that those who hereafter should become emancipated by the voluntary act of the master, or in any other way, would there find homes among a people of their own race, and an outlet by which they could be gradually withdrawn from the States of this Republic, and thus avert that calamity—of all other calamities the most to be dreaded—the scenes of St. Domingo re-enacted within the Gulf States of our own Confederacy.